

JOCHELSON, THE KORYAK.

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114 from Steller's book some pictures of Japanese gods, which Steller¹ represents as the Kamchatka good and evil deities, and of whom no mention at all is made in the text of Steller's book. Slunin's personal observations do not add much new material to the ethnographical information which he obtained at second-hand.

Mr. Bogoras has had the kindness to place at my disposal the Koryak myths from Kamchatka and from the Pacific coast recorded by him.² These have been embodied in the present work on the Koryak. Besides this, he has revised and corrected the transcriptions of all Koryak names, words, incantations, and other Koryak phrases, contained in this book. Mr. Bogoras made a special study of both the Chukchee and the Koryak languages, which are closely related to each other.

124 Nicholas Vilkhin, a Russianized Koryak of the settlement of Gishiginsk, assisted me on the spot in recording and translating the myths. For scientific purposes he is the only tolerably good interpreter in the Gishiga district. He has equal command of the local Russian dialect and the Koryak language, and is more intelligent than two or three other Russianized Koryak who also live there, and who are at the same time familiar with both languages. Still I had to labor hard before I had him trained for the work. The Cossacks' and other Russian settlers' knowledge of the Koryak language scarcely goes further than simple phrases used in trade, and their language frequently represents a peculiar Koryak-Russian jargon. It goes without saying that the Russian interpreters proved unfit for my purposes. Vilkhin was in the employ of the expedition throughout my entire stay in the Gishiga district.

771 The Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, although still preserving
177 their language, have long since embraced Christianity, and, setting aside a number of superstitions, have forgotten their former religion. The same may be said, to a great extent, of the Alutora Maritime Koryak, who also have been converted to Christianity; but, according to Mr. Bogoras, the latter have preserved a great number of myths. The Reindeer Koryak, however, as well as the Maritime Koryak north of Alutorsky Cape, along the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak inhabiting the shores of Pen-shina Bay, have to a considerable extent preserved their primitive religion. The efforts of the Russians to convert them to the Orthodox faith have so far proved futile. Especially the Maritime Koryak who live nearest to the settlement of Gishiginsk, the Russian centre of the Gishiga district, prove to be more conservative in matters pertaining to religion than those who come in contact with the Koryak of Kamchatka, like the inhabitants of the villages of Kamenskoye (Va'ikenan), Talovka (Xe's'xen), Ma'meč, and Reki'nok.³ But,

¹ Steller, 3 plates opp. p. 252.

² The following tales were recorded by Mr. Bogoras: Nos. 97-109 and 115-139.

³ See map. In the text Russian names of villages, rivers, etc., have been used. If there are Koryak names, these have been added in parentheses. Koryak names only are used when there are no Russian names.

171 in spite of the fact that Christianity has been adopted only to a limited extent
177 among the Koryak, their own religion is at present in a state of decay, which is
caused by their coming in frequent contact with Russian traders and Cossacks,
who, especially the latter, ridicule the idols, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the
Koryak. Many of the ceremonies and myths are mere survivals of the past,
and their meaning has been lost. As early as the middle of the eighteenth
century, the religion of Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff and Steller,
was influenced by the Russians in the same manner.

III. — GUARDIANS AND CHARMS.

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Passing from the conceptions of invisible supernatural beings to the religious significance of concrete objects, I shall begin with a discussion of guardians and charms. It is very difficult to answer the question, In what way does an image of man or animal, made by man, or do objects in their natural state and having no likeness to animated objects, come to be considered as deities or guardians? It is impossible to obtain a direct explanation from primitive man. I will relate here a case that I witnessed myself. Two brothers, Reindeer Koryak from Tilqai River, after their father's death, divided between themselves the reindeer-herd, intending to live apart. According to custom, the family sacred fire-board,¹ the guardian of the herd, was given to the younger brother. Then the older brother made a new sacred fire-board for himself. With adze in hand, he went to the woods, and soon returned with a newly hewn wooden figure. It was put upon the cross-beam over the hearth to dry, and in a few days its consecration took place. A reindeer was slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-Master-on-High (Gičho'1-eti'nvila'n), and the figure was anointed with the sacrificial blood and fat. Thereupon the mother of the two brothers pronounced an incantation over it, consisting of an appeal to Big-Raven to set up the new sacred fire-board as a guardian of the herd. Then fire was for the first time obtained from the sacred fire-board by means of drilling; and the wooden god, or rather guardian, black from hearth smoke, and shining from the fat that had been smeared upon it, became the guardian of the herd and of the hearth. "Now my reindeer will have their own herdsman," said Qačai, the older of the two brothers, with a smile, in reply to my questions.² It seems to me that there are two elements which participate in this transformation into a guardian, of a piece of wood shaped into a crude likeness of a human figure. First, there is the conception of a concealed vital principle in objects apparently inanimate. Second, there is the mysterious influence of an incantation upon this vital principle; i. e., the power of the words of man to increase the force of the vital principle, and to direct it to a certain activity. In what way the guardianship is exercised by the charm is a question which the Koryak never put to themselves; but it is exercised by means that are not perceptible to our senses.

While the invisible, organizing, creative, and destructive forces — The-Master-on-High, Big-Raven, and kalau — are deities or spirits of the entire

¹ See p. 33.

² It was clear that his attitude towards the new guardian was somewhat sceptical, but the ancient custom proved stronger than his scepticism.

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tribe (with the exception of those that serve individual shamans'), the "protectors or guardians" belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases to a whole village. In general, the guardians form a group of objects that are supposed to take care of the welfare of man, and keep away all evil from him. The particular function of the guardians depends upon the office with which they are charged. The same little figure may act as the guardian of a family or of an individual. Nevertheless some "guardians" have definite forms and duties.

I shall now enumerate those guardians about which I have succeeded in gathering information, and which are contained in the collection of the Museum.

SACRED IMPLEMENTS FOR FIRE-MAKING. — The sacred implements for making fire are the following: —

A fire-board with holes in it, called *gi'čgič* or *ge'čgei* (Chukchee, *gr'grir*), in which the drill is turned. The board is usually of dry aspen-wood, which readily ignites, and is roughly shaped like a human being. A head is carved out



Fig. 2. Sacred Fire-making Implements of the Maritime Koryak. a, b ($\frac{1}{2}$ in., $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), Fire-Boards (length, 43 cm., 25 cm.); c, d, e ($\frac{1}{2}$ in., $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), Bow, Wooden Drill, and Stone Head-Piece (length of bow, 47 cm.).

at one end; and eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated (Fig. 2, a, b). In some boards the opposite end is carved to represent the legs.

A small bow, called *e'yet* (Fig. 2, c).

A wooden drill, called *mā'xem* ("arrow"), Fig. 2, d.

¹ See Chapter IV, Professional Shamans.

751 It is worn around the neck. It consists of a thong braided together with reindeer-hair, and beads strung on it. Sometimes a guardian representing a human figure or some animal is appended to such an amulet (Fig. 17, *b*).

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755 Tattooing, so far as it is not done as a matter of fashion, is also to be classed with amulets. Aching parts of the body are tattooed in order to drive away the pain. Tattooing is thus made to serve as an amulet or guardian. The design of the tattooing frequently represents a human figure. The method of tattooing is the following. Pounded charcoal is mixed with oil. A thin sinew thread twisted with a woman's hair is blackened in it, and then, by means of a fine needle, is drawn through the skin. This kind of tattooing is called geti'plin ("pierced"). It is practised on women as well as on men: while tattooing as an adornment is practised on women only, and is called lō'-ke'le ("face-painting"). Some women tattoo the face as a charm against barrenness.

The method of charming amulets and making incantations will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.¹

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771 GENERAL REMARKS. — We have seen that the majority of the guardians are family deities. Only the guardian of the habitation has a tendency to become a village protectors. On the other hand, only amulets against diseases, and a certain kind of tattooing, figure as guardians of individuals. All the other guardians are closely connected with the household fireplace and the welfare of the family. They cannot be transferred into a family of strangers; but they may be temporarily engaged by one or another of the members of the family.

¹ See pp. 59-64.

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532 pile. They received presents of pieces of sugar, tobacco, and ornaments, from
 536 the owner of the house. Thus they visited all the houses of the settlement.

171 Paren is the only village along the entire western coast of Penshina Bay
 532 in which wooden masks are used. The rest of the settlements are occupied
 771 in summer as well as in winter; and the wearing of masks is considered a sin.
 In Kuel, for instance, the Koryak refused to arrange a "wearing of masks,"
 as I requested, since it is forbidden. I was told in Paren that the custom of
 "wearing masks" is still observed in the settlements of Reki'nniki (Reki'nnok)
 and Podkaghirmoye (Pitka'heñ), along the eastern coast of Penshina Bay. Sub-
 sequently Mr. Bogoras sent me a few masks from Reki'nniki. Besides, he found
 wooden masks among the Alutora Koryak of Baron Korff Bay. Even the small



Fig. 34, a (right), b (left). Wooden Masks from Alutora Bay.

Reindeer camps of the Alutora Koryak, which are inhabited by families some of whose members live in Maritime villages, also have such masks and masquerades. It is noteworthy that the inhabitants of these villages stay there during summer also. According to Mr. Bogoras, the "wearing of masks" in these villages is rather a masquerade. The masks, unlike those from Paren, have pendants attached, consisting of rings, little bells, and other ornaments, or of models of things the masqueraders would like to receive. To one of them (Fig. 34, a) are appended

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carvings representing a dog, a knife, and a ring. In the eastern settlements, both boys and girls wear masks. The masks of the Alutor Koryak have names. Mr. Bogoras has recorded two names: one, that of a woman's mask, — Kilyu' (the name of Big-Raven's niece); and the other, that of a man's mask, — Amka'vvi. When the masks which represent Big-Raven's children enter a house, they dance, and enact various pantomimic scenes, but do not utter a word, and do not ask for anything; but the pendants on their masks indicate the kind of presents they would like to receive. These pendants very often call for things which, according to local prices, are considered very valuable. These presents are never refused; but later on the donors go into the houses of the masqueraders to get return-presents.

In North America the use of masks by Eskimo and Indians for religious or festive purposes, or for pantomimes, is not confined to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains; masks are found also among the Iroquois, the Pueblo tribes, the prehistoric inhabitants of Florida; and we know that the Eskimo of Baffin Land use leather masks during festivals.¹

Among the other Eskimo, only the Alaskan tribes use masks. They are also found among the Aleut. From the fact that among the Alaskan Eskimo, masks become more numerous and more elaborate the nearer we approach that part of Alaska inhabited by the Indians of Tlingit stock, Murdoch infers that the former might have borrowed masks of the Indians.² I do not undertake to settle this question; but in simplicity and crudeness of finish, the wooden masks of the Koryak are so much like the Eskimo masks of Point Barrow, that it might be supposed that the Koryak and Eskimo masks originated from a common source. It is very strange, however, that the Chukchee, who live between the Koryak and the Eskimo, have no masks.³

532. The collection of Koryak wooden masks in the American Museum in New York consists of nine specimens collected by me at Paren, two from Reki'nniki, and two from Baron Korff Bay, obtained by Mr. Bogoras. All the masks are made so that the eyes and mouth fit the face of the wearer. Fig. 35 represents the masks from Paren. All these masks are very rudely made. Only one of them (Fig. 35, f) is finished off somewhat smoothly. The outer edges of all the others are not smooth, but show the marks of the adze. Judging from its size, the mask shown in Fig. 35, f, was made for a child. It has no openings for the mouth and eyes. The eyebrows are drawn with black paint. The nose, though not short, is cut off straight at its lower end,

¹ Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 141. The Yukaghir used to wear leather masks when dissecting their dead shamans (see Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 710).

² Murdoch, p. 370.

³ Besides the Koryak and the Yukaghir, whose culture leans toward that of American tribes, and the Siberian Buddhists, some other tribes of northern Asia seem to use masks. Potanin (II, p. 54) mentions that the shamans of the Tcheré-Tatars (Altaians) sometimes use masks (koro) made of birch-bark, and ornamented with squirrels' tails to represent eyebrows and mustache.

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On the day when the bear is equipped for the home journey, the Maritime Koryak prepare puddings for it, travelling-provisions, just as has been described in connection with the whale festival. They plait a grass bag, and put the puddings into it. The Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer for the bear, cook all the meat, and pack it in a grass bag. The bear-skin is filled with grass, taken out and carried around the house, following the course of the sun, and then sent away in the direction of the rising sun. The fact that the bear is sent toward morning dawn indicates that the Koryak consider the spirit of the bear as benevolent. The stuffed bear and the bag are put on the platform of the storehouse; and after a few days the skin is taken back to be tanned, and the puddings are eaten.

The Wolf Festival. — After having killed a wolf, the Maritime Koryak take off its skin, together with the head, just as they proceed with the bear; then they place near the hearth a pointed stick, and tie an arrow, called i¹lhun or e²lgoi, to it, or drive the arrow into the ground at its butt-end.¹ One of the men puts on the wolf's skin and walks around the hearth, while another member of the family beats the drum. The wolf festival is called e³lhō'gūñm; that is, "wolf-stick festival."

The meaning of this ceremony is obscure. I have been unable to get any explanation from the Koryak with reference to it. "Our forefathers did this way," is all they say. I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin.

The wolf festival differs from the bear festival in the absence of the equipment for the home journey. The reason is this, that the bear is sent home with much ceremony, to secure successful bear-hunting in the future, bear's meat being considered a delicacy, while the festival serves at the same time to protect the people from the wrath of the slain animal and its relatives. The wolf, on the other hand, does not serve as food, but is only a danger to the traveller in the desert. He is dangerous, not in his visible, animal state, — for the northern wolves, as a rule, are afraid of men, — but in his invisible, anthropomorphic form. According to the Koryak conception, the wolf is a rich reindeer-owner and the powerful master of the tundra. A traveller who has lost his way may stray into a settlement of wolves, and become their prey. The wolves avenge themselves particularly on those that hunt them.² The Reindeer Koryak have still more reason to fear wolves, since their herds are always exposed to their dangerous attacks. According to the conception of the Reindeer Koryak, the wolf is a powerful shaman, and he is regarded as an evil spirit hostile to the reindeer, and roaming all over the earth. In

¹ See p. 43.² Tale 24.

778 Koryak. In Kamenskoye the sacred fire-board is still treated with respect; but the significance of the drum as a sacred heirloom of the family has declined, and I was able to acquire drums for the collection, all of which are ancient family drums. I have said before that indifference toward old customs may be observed more clearly in places nearer Kamchatka than in those near the Russian settlement on the Gishiga River. Near Kamchatka, for instance, in Kamenskoye, families may be found, which, though not baptized, show an inclination to acquire Russian customs. There are a few such families in Kamenskoye. They try to establish friendship with the Russians, and criticize their own customs without constraint. Thus the old man Yulta told me, as a proof that dog-sacrifices do not serve any useful purpose, how his people were once chasing in a skin boat after a whale, and could not come near enough to throw the harpoon. Then they killed a dog as a sacrifice; but the whale got still farther away from them. His scepticism, however, did not prevent him from killing a dog the next day, on the occasion of his son's departure. In the entire settlement, which consisted of thirty families, there is only one Koryak, Qat'ilqut, who has adopted Christianity. To welcome a Russian he puts on a fur jacket made after Russian fashion; and when he comes to a Russian house, he makes the sign of the cross with an air of great importance before the images of the saints of the Greek Catholic Church without knowing, however, how to fold his fingers properly. Nevertheless he has two wives, and kills dogs as sacrifices to The-Master-on-High. When I asked him once how it was that he, a Christian, made dog-offerings, he replied, that since he became converted, he killed only puppies, but not large dogs. This was a half-serious reply; it would seem that he thus thought to reconcile the two religions. All this, however, tends to the destruction of the former religion; and were it not for the low level of culture among the Russian settlers themselves, and the ignorance of the local orthodox clergy, the Russianization of the Koryak would proceed at a much more rapid rate than it does at present.

162. According to the census of 1897,¹ out of a total of 7530 Koryak, 3387 were baptized; i. e., 45 per cent. They were distributed among the districts as follows: —

	Christians.	Pagans.
Gishiga	1416	3018
Petropavlovsk	1737	948
Okhotsk	244	0
Anadyr	0	177

Of course a great many of the baptized are Christians only in name.

¹ See Patkanov, p. 27.

the present Chukchee irka¹la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.² I think abnormal sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes. 588
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POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this question more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.³ This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born. 595
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In Steller's⁴ description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.⁵ On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

¹ See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.

² For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 392.

³ See Steller, p. 347.

⁴ See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 201.

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

ANCIENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil

771 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such
609 magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.¹

784 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the
609 outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

[77] These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak,"² as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versa*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere
174 territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

¹ See Part I, p. 32.

² See p. 407.

"The religion of all the natives of Northeastern Siberia, wandering and settled, including six or seven widely different tribes, is that corrupted form of Buddhism known as 'Shamanism.' It is a religion which varies considerably in different places and among different people; but with the Koraks and Chookchees it may be briefly defined as the worship of the evil spirits who are supposed to be embodied in all the mysterious powers and manifestations of Nature, such as epidemic and contagious diseases, severe storms, famines, eclipses, and brilliant Auroras. It takes its name from the 'Shamáns' or priests, who act as interpreters of the evil spirits' wishes and as mediators between them and man. All unnatural phenomena, and especially those of a disastrous and terrible nature, are attributed to the direct action of these evil spirits, and are considered as plain manifestations of their displeasure. It is claimed by many that the whole system of 'Shamanism' is a gigantic imposture practised by a few cunning priests upon the easy credulity of superstitious natives. [209] This I am sure is a prejudiced view. No one who has ever lived with the Siberian natives, studied their character, subjected himself to the same influences that surround them, and put himself as far as possible in their places, will ever doubt the sincerity of either priests or followers, or wonder that the worship of evil spirits should be their only religion. It is the only religion possible for such men in such circumstances."

11: Kennan--210-212

T-3 (1865) 1870

Koryak-1-2

116, 182, 756, 771

Reindeer

"If any proof were needed that this system of religion is the natural outgrowth of human nature in certain conditions of barbarism, it would be furnished by the universal prevalence of Shamanism in Northeastern Siberia among so many diverse tribes of different character and different origin. The tribe of Tungoos, for instance is certainly of Chinese descent, and the tribe of Yakoots is certainly Turkish. Both came from different regions, bringing different beliefs, superstitions, and modes of thought; but, when both were removed from all disturbing agencies and subjected to the same external influences, both developed precisely the same system [211] of religious belief. ... The Kamtchadals who accompanied me to the Samanka Mountains were the sons of Christian parents, and had been brought up from infancy in the Greek Church; they were firm believers in the Divine atonement and in Divine Providence, and prayed always night and morning for safety and preservation; yet, when overtaken by a storm in that gloomy range of mountains, the sense of the supernatural overcame their religious convictions, God seemed far away while evil spirits were near and active, and they sacrificed a dog, like very pagans, to propitiate the diabolical wrath of which the storm was an evidence. I could cite many similar instances, where the strongest and apparently most sincere [212] convictions of the reality of Divine government and superintendence have been overcome by the influence upon the imagination of some startling and unusual phenomenon of Nature. Man's actions are governed not so much by what he intellectually

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Koryak-2

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Reindeer

believes as by what he vividly realizes; and it is this vivid realization of diabolical presence which has given rise to the religion of Shamanism. "

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Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutorsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: $5\% + 10\% + 20\% + 25\% + 30\% = 90\%$. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutorsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

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The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, rushed him away, and so on.

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According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks